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manent tribunal, as reference to his draft of a proposed treaty with this country will show. We hold in much higher estimation than many do tribunals *ad hoc*, but we are of opinion that a permanent tribunal, or tribunals, of some sort will be found to be the necessary corollary of permanent treaties, whenever such treaties shall be begun to be made between the great powers. These nations are not likely to bind themselves by treaties of arbitration, without some knowledge beforehand of the kind of machinery to be used in the settlement of their disputes.

We are more surprised still that the Lord Chief Justice should repeat the oft-uttered statement that questions of honor and national integrity can not be arbitrated. Questions involving national honor, as any disagreement may do, have been arbitrated time and again. It is difficult to find a reason why the national honor would not always be indefinitely safer in the hands of an intelligent tribunal than under the edge of a senseless sword. It is incumbent on those who take Lord Russell's position to tell us what questions of honor can not be settled in this way. But this they never do. The whole subject is left in vagueness and obscurity. Questions of the national integrity, except so far as involved in boundary disputes which of course are arbitrable, ought never to be raised in connection with arbitration. They belong to another sphere. Arbitration treaties take for granted the national existence and respect for it, on both sides. Without this assumption they would never be made. Two nations which have reached the point of civilization where they solemnly agree to settle all differences between them by this means, have put to rest forever all questions touching their existence. If they should drift back into barbarism they might make attempts on each other's life, but in that case they would have got below the arbitral plane, and their arbitral treaties would have long since died.

But notwithstanding these defects, as they seem to us, the address of Lord Russell is a great one, and deserves the careful reading of every friend of peace.

THE SEVENTH UNIVERSAL PEACE CONGRESS.

The International Peace Bureau at Berne, to which was assigned the duty of preparing for the next International Peace Congress, has issued a circular giving the final arrangements for the Congress. The date of the meeting, the 17th of September, is two days later than heretofore announced, this change being rendered necessary by the change of time of holding the Interparliamentary Peace Conference, which meets at the same place. The Congress is to meet on the date given above in the Festival Hall of the Millennial Exhibition at Buda-Pesth, Austro-Hungary, and will continue in session till the 22d, omitting Sunday. The Bureau has prepared and published in the circular

the program of the Congress. It covers a number of important subjects, such as the Functions of the International Peace Bureau in Case of Danger of War, Treaties of Arbitration, A Permanent International Court, A Permanent International Commission for Africa, A Suspension of Armaments, A European Customs Union, Workingmen in Peace Societies and Congresses, Historical Reading Books and Text Books, International Intercourse, The Duel, etc. Careful preparations are being made for the Congress, which it is hoped will prove to be one of the most successful ever held. The government railroads and the committee of the Millennial Exhibition have generously consented to give important concessions to the members of the Congress. We hope that a considerable number of Americans may be present, though we fear that because of the distance, the lateness of the season and the number of peace conferences recently held in this country, the number may be small. The Congress will doubtless be attended by a large number of European delegates, and together with the Interparliamentary Conference, coming immediately afterwards, will certainly constitute one of the important events in the history of the peace movement. The Interparliamentary Peace Union has grown to be one of the most influential organizations in Europe, and it is growing every year more powerful. It is gradually bringing about a better state of feeling between European statesmen and its ultimate triumph over the present armed and irrational state of Europe we cannot in the least doubt. We hope that its approaching meeting at Buda-Pesth may prove to be a long step in this direction.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Some of our subscribers failed to observe the notice given in our July number that no paper would be published in August. We gave twelve extra pages in our June number and eight in May. We add four pages this month, making twenty-four in all, or the full number of an entire ordinary issue. Our readers have, therefore, lost nothing by the omission of one number.

We much appreciate the words of commendation that come to us regarding the high character of the *ADVOCATE* and we shall do all in our power to make it a more and more worthy organ of the great cause which is winning new friends by legions.

Lord Salisbury's plan for the settlement of the Venezuela difficulty, included in the recently published correspondence between him and Secretary Olney, was an admirable one, if he had only stopped in time and not tacked a ruinous "proviso" to it. He proposed a commission of four, two Englishmen and two Americans, to investigate and report upon the facts affecting the rights of the Netherlands and of Spain respectively at the time

of the acquisition of British Guiana by Great Britain. On the basis of this report, which should be binding as to facts, Great Britain and Venezuela should endeavor to draw a boundary line. Failing to agree on a line, they should submit the report of the committee on facts, with any other matter insisted upon by either government, to three arbitrators, to be named one by each of the governments and the other by the two so named. This tribunal should fix the boundary line on the basis of the information furnished it, and this line should be binding upon the two governments — *provided it did not give to either government territory bona fide occupied by citizens of the other on the first of January, 1887*. 1887 is a very late date in the long history of British Guiana, and what would his Lordship have had done in case a considerable strip of territory had been found *bona fide* occupied by citizens of both countries? Such a plan provides for an arbitration in which nothing is arbitrated.

The Trinidade incident, which at one time threatened to produce unpleasant feelings between Brazil and Great Britain, is happily ended. When the British took possession of the island last year with the view of landing there the cable of a newly incorporated company, Brazil promptly protested that the island was hers. After some diplomatic parleying Great Britain proposed to submit the question to arbitration. Brazil declined to accept arbitration, as implying a doubt as to her right in the island. But finally both governments accepted the good offices of the Portuguese government. This government has given its decision that Trinidade belongs to Brazil, and Great Britain has promptly accepted the decision and abandoned all claim to the island. The Brazilian legation in Washington received official notice on August 6th of this action of Great Britain.

In his annual address to the graduating class of Michigan University, President James B. Angell this year spoke upon the subject of "Patriotism and International Brotherhood." The address, published in full in the *Detroit Free Press* for June 22, was a strong plea for the cultivation, on the part of the United States, now so strong and self-reliant, of sincere friendliness and peaceful relations towards all other nations; for "laying aside all petit jealousies of other nations, that inflammable sensitiveness which is a sign of weakness, that combative spirit which is flinging out constant challenges." Dr. Angell also strongly urged that our country is "most happily situated to take the lead" in the establishment of an international court, and that the United States and Great Britain may, by agreeing to arbitrate their disagreements, wield an influence for good, in the promotion of civilization, which can hardly be exaggerated.

Our great universities, as well as our colleges, are now

practically all in line in the arbitration movement. It is true, as President Angell said in this address, that the educated young men and women going out from these institutions are "to exercise an exceptional influence on public opinion," and the presidents and professors of these seats of learning are doing a service of the highest order in turning the attention of those under their instruction to this greatest of all the great movements of our time.

President Eliot of Harvard delivered the recognition day address before the graduating class of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, at Chautauqua, N. Y., on the 19th of August. Nine thousand persons were in the Amphitheatre, including four hundred graduates. The subject was international arbitration, to which Dr. Eliot has been giving much attention recently and in the promotion of which he is rendering conspicuous service. He set forth in his Chautauqua address the attitude of favor which the United States has always held towards arbitration instead of war in the settlement of international disputes, and showed that as much heroism is displayed in the pursuits of peace as in the treacherous cruelties of war. His treatment of the "scab" laborer,—independent, opposed to public opinion, firm in his knowledge of his right to work where he will, willing to sacrifice everything rather than surrender this right—was novel but thoroughly to the point. There are heroes among public men deserving the highest commendation—men who will stick to their opinions, despite partisanship, for the good of the country. The address also dwelt on some of the many evils which war necessarily brings.

During his visit to this country and since his return to Europe Mr. Hodgson Pratt has been doing excellent service toward promoting good feeling between England and the United States by the publication of various articles in British papers recording the impressions received while here. These articles, in the *Spectator*, the *Echo*, etc., are most admirable in tone and appreciative in matter. Mr. Pratt is called on the European continent *the international man*. We are not sure but that another visit to this country will entirely complete the transformation of him into an *American man*. His English friends could not object in the least to this, for Mr. Lowell, of whom they were all very fond, defined an American as an Englishman *reënforced*. At any rate, Mr. Pratt might spare us a part of his time and transfer his home for a part of the year from Lausanne, Switzerland, to some part of the United States. He could find a charming place in the White Mountains, or the Catskills, or somewhere else in "this broad land" where his fine gift of correspondence might perhaps be made none the worse. We could spare him the rest of the year to help relieve

Londoners of their *fog*, of which we believe he is not at all fond, and which he fights from Lausanne. We shall expect him at Mohonk again next year, with a whole *état major* of the friends of peace, whom we will do all in our power to make love and respect us as much as Mr. Pratt does.

Much has been said in American journals of the late Jules Simon as a writer, philosopher, economist and statesman, and rightly, for he was one of the really greatest men of France and of our time. But scarcely a word of allusion has been made to the part which he took in the peace movement and to the wise insight which led him to recognize this as the foremost of the pressing questions of our day. He was an unceasing opponent of those periodic excitements which imperil the peaceful relations of nations. He assisted in 1888 in the organization of the Interparliamentary Peace Union, which has now grown to such significant proportions, and the next year presided and gave an address at the opening of its first Conference, held at Paris during the Exposition. It was he who, three years ago, proposed a truce of armaments till the end of the century, his article in the *Matin* in behalf of such a truce, and in opposition to the ever-growing burdens of European armaments, being one of the most remarkable ever published in a French journal. When the Young Men's Peace Association of Nîmes began the publication of its Peace Almanac, he wrote the preface of the first number, and we believe also of each of the subsequent numbers. He was the Honorary President of the French Arbitration Society, the meetings of which he often addressed. It was he who aroused the women of France to take up the cause of peace, and it was his oft-repeated opinion that war would speedily come to an end when the women of the civilized world determined that it should cease.

Dr. Lyman Abbott, whose powerful advocacy of a permanent international tribunal of arbitration has been so effective at home, has been making good use of himself this summer while in Europe in promoting the same object. Soon after landing in England he addressed a meeting on the subject in his vigorous and discriminating manner, and again on the 28th of July he spoke on the same subject at the Grindelwald Conference at Berne, Switzerland.

At the recent annual meeting of the State Bar Association of Virginia, the constitution of the association was so amended as to provide for a standing committee on International Arbitration, to confer and co-operate with similar committees of Bar Associations of other States. The Committee for the current year consists of Thomas D. Ranson, Esq., Chairman, Staunton; Hon. D. Gardner Tyler, Williamsburg; Hon. R. G. H. Kean, Lynchburg;

Prof. W. D. Dabney, University of Virginia; and Alexander Hamilton, Esq., of Petersburg.

The German Peace Society, with headquarters at Berlin, 46 Markgrafen-Strasse, has now fifty branches in different parts of the Empire. The last two groups formed were at Elberfeld-Barmen and Biedenkopf. This is remarkable growth, when it is remembered that the general Society was formed less than five years ago. The Society issues an edition of six thousand five hundred copies of the *Friedens-Correspondenz*, a monthly of eight pages, admirably edited by Alfred Hermann Fried.

The Friends of Philadelphia through their Representative Body have this summer issued "An Appeal to professing Christians respecting the Attitude of the Church in regard to War." The pamphlet, published at the Friends' Book Store, 304 Arch St., Philadelphia, covers eight pages, one of which is devoted to the evil tendencies of the Boys' Brigade. We quote one paragraph which is well worthy of the most prayerful consideration of all Christians:

"The speedy abandonment of this most unchristian method of settling differences between civilized nations rests to-day, as we firmly believe, with the professing Christian Church, which has so long given it an implied, and too often, a hearty support. The responsibility for its continuance thus entails a burden, from which she should fervently seek to be delivered. Shall not we, then, who acknowledge ourselves followers of the Lamb of God, be so true to Him, his plain precepts and his example, that the heathen shall no longer be stumbled by the action of so-called Christian nations, nor the sceptic or the scoffer find the ample material which is now afforded for their thrusts and sneers at our holy religion. All who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity will then rejoice in a new and powerful bond of union with one another, which, in the present weak and inconsistent attitude of the Church regarding war, is not possible. With a clear, fresh message of peace on earth and good will toward men thrilling the breasts of Christian believers everywhere, the work of the world's conversion would go more rapidly forward and that happy day, foretold by the prophet Isaiah, be hastened when 'nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.'"

Some conception of the rapid and widespread growth of the peace movement in Europe may be formed from the fact that in Italy alone thirteen Senators and more than one hundred Deputies have inscribed their names as members of the forthcoming Interparliamentary Peace Conference at Buda-Pesth. This, says *Il Secolo* of Milan, is four or five times the number that have attended any of the previous Conferences.

The August number of the London *Herald of Peace* publishes the following, indicating that the Crimean War, which cost seven hundred and fifty thousand lives and

nearly two thousand million dollars, had its origin in private spite :

"A story about the late Lord Bath, to which Canon MacColl refers in the *Contemporary Review*, is as follows : 'He had been travelling in different parts of the Turkish Empire just before the Crimean War, and had noted the devastation, iniquity and cruelty, which are invariable products of Ottoman rule. He arrived at the Dardanelles while the combined fleets of France and England, under command of Admiral Dundas, were anchored there, waiting for a favorable wind to take them to Constantinople. The Admiral begged Lord Bath to call on the British Ambassador, Sir Stratford de Redcliffe, as soon as he reached Constantinople, and tell him that the Anglo-French fleet was at the Dardanelles, and would proceed to Constantinople as soon as the wind permitted. On receiving the message, the Ambassador jumped off his chair and — apparently forgetting the presence of his visitor — walked up and down the room muttering to himself, "Ah ! The fleet will soon be here. Once it's here, there must be war. It can't be avoided. I shall take care that it is not avoided. I vowed to have my revenge upon that man, and now, by Heaven, I've got it." This story I received from Lord Bath's own lips, with permission to publish it.'"

Fredrik Bajer, of Copenhagen, president of the Society for the Neutralization of Denmark and an ex-member of the Danish Parliament, has just published in a folio pamphlet of thirty pages in French an extended discussion on the subject of the transformation of armies into productive organizations, so long as they are kept up. This subject, which has no special interest for us in America, is receiving a good deal of attention in Europe, where over four millions of men are constantly maintained in idleness, at a cost of about one thousand millions of dollars a year.

The Socialists of various nations organized a great international peace demonstration in Hyde Park, London, at the end of July. Representatives from twenty or more nations attended, and several hundred British and foreign workingmen's societies and trades unions participated. Multitudes of people gathered in the Park, and there were processions, banners, music and speeches — and the customary English downpour of rain, which considerably interfered with the proceedings. The Socialist protest against war would be much more effective, if the evils of capital and private ownership of land were not made the sole cause of war. Capital as often used has evils, plenty of them, which ought to be protested against, but we doubt if it can be shown that capital has ever been the chief cause of an *international* war. War has many causes, all of which ought to be sought out and removed.

At the annual encampment of the G. A. R. of the State of New York this year the following resolution was passed :

Resolved, That the broad Christian principle which underlies the present international movement in favor of

arbitration commends itself to the veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic of the State of New York. We heartily approve of the efforts that are being made to provide a way by which bloody wars and unnecessary armaments may be avoided, and all international differences settled by honorable methods based upon law, reason and justice.

Col. Albert D. Shaw, who was chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, made an address of unusual merit in presenting the resolution. The address has since been printed and circulated, and may be had by addressing Mr. Shaw at Watertown, N. Y. We are indebted to him for a copy.

The London Peace Society has recently sent an address to the Emperor of Germany earnestly entreating him as foremost among the Protestant rulers of Europe to use his influence to bring about a special advocacy of peace and goodwill by the clergy of Germany.

We are in receipt of the Annual Report of the London Peace Society for 1895-96, in pamphlet form. It covers thirty closely printed pages. The contents of the report, which is full of interest, have been noted in a previous issue of the *ADVOCATE*.

The Secretary of the American Peace Society gave, by invitation, an address on International Arbitration as a Substitute for War, before the Pascataqua Congregational Club at their annual reunion and banquet at Portsmouth, N. H., on the 2d of July.

Miss Farmer, the founder and director of *Greenacre* at Eliot, Maine, is a devoted and active friend of the cause of peace and arbitration. She held a Peace Conference at Greenacre on the 2d of July, at which, besides other exercises, an interesting and instructive address on "An International Tribunal" was given by Mr. Henry Wood, of Boston. The address was published in full in *The Greenacre Voice*. On the 4th of July an entertaining address was given at the same place on "Patriotism and Peace" by Rev. L. H. Angier, D.D., of Boston, one of the vice-presidents of the American Peace Society, who has been connected with its work for nearly fifty years.

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE RUSSELL'S ADDRESS BEFORE THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION.

SARATOGA, N. Y., August 20, 1896.

MR. PRESIDENT: My first words must be in acknowledgment of the honor done me by inviting me to address you on this interesting occasion. You are a congress of lawyers of the United States met together to take counsel, in no narrow spirit, on questions affecting the interests of your profession; to consider necessary amendments in the law which experience and time develop, and